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Exploring Daily Mediating Pathways of Religious Identity in the Associations between Maternal

Religious Socialization and Muslim American Adolescents' Civic Engagement

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Abstract

Despite its implications for positive youth development, factors and processes that promote civic engagment are critically understudied, particularly among Muslim American adolescents for whom opportunities for civic engagement could be hindered by Islamophobia and hate crimes. Prior work has proposed that parents can strengthen adolescents' group belonging and motivate their civic engagement, but this mediating link has not been empirically tested. Moreover, parents' religious socialization and adolescents' religious identity remain understudied, especially with respect to possible daily fluctuations. We used experience sampling methods to: (1) explore momentary fluctuations and temporal relations between two dimensions of Muslim American adolescents' religious identity (i.e., private regard and centrality) over the course of 14 days (Phase 2); and (2) examine if Muslim American adolescents' momentary religious identity (Phase 2) mediated associations between their stable perceptions of maternal religious socialization (Phase 1) and subsequent civic engagement (Phase 3). Dynamic Structural Equation Modeling revealed positive autoregressive and cross-lagged relations between religious private regard and centrality. Moreover, adolescents' momentary religious identities differentially mediated the associations between maternal religious socialization and civic attitudes and behaviors, suggesting specificity in these developmental processes. Our findings have important implications for programs and policies to support the self-empowerment and positive development of Muslim American adolescents.

Keywords: Religious socialization, religious identity, civic engagement, Muslim American adolescents

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Civic engagement is a multifaceted construct that refers to attitudes, skills, knowledge,

and behaviors that identify and/or address issues of public concern and improve conditions in

society (APA, 2016; Zaff, Hart, Flanagan, Youniss, & Levine, 2010). Civic engagement is

important for the positive development of minority youth, such as Muslim American adolescents,

because it can serve as an attempt to redress social inequalities targeted towards their group

(Hope & Spencer, 2017). However, their civic participation may be undermined by rapidly

rising levels of Islamophobia, hate-crimes, and surveillance (Ocampo, Dana, & Barreto, 2018).

Yet, studies examining Muslim American adolescents' civic engagement, its predictors, and

underlying mechanisms are scant. To fill this gap, we explored the role of maternal religious

socialization and adolescents' daily religious identities in their civic engagement, which we

define by attitudes (i.e., beliefs and values about contributing to issues of public concern) and

behaviors (i.e., engagement in specific activities that serve the common good).

Parents' cultural socialization strengthens adolescents' social identity (e.g., Neblett et al.,

2013) and a more positive social identity promotes civic participation on behalf of one's valued

identity group (e.g., Chan & Latzman, 2015). Thus, adolescents' social identity may mediate

links between cultural socialization and civic engagement, but this effect has not been

empirically examined. Moreover, religious-specific socialization and religious identity are

understudied within developmental sciences (Verkuyten, 2016; Vermeer & Scheepers, 2012).

Another consideration is the multidimensional nature of social identities. For example, two

commonly studied dimensions include private regard, which refers to individuals' positive

feelings about their group membership, and centrality, which reflects the importance of group

membership to individuals' self-concept (Sellers et al., 1998). Although social identities vary on a momentary and daily basis (e.g., Yip & Douglass, 2013), most approaches continue to measure identity in a static manner and whether different dimensions of identity (e.g., regard, centrality) reinforce one another on a situational basis remains unknown. The interplay between different identity dimensions can inform our understanding of daily identity processes, and the nature of these dynamic relations can have implications for real-time interventions to promote civic engagement. To address all of these limitations in the literature and contribute to our understanding of the development of Muslim American adolescents, the present study aimed: (1) to explore momentary fluctuations and temporal relations between Muslim American adolescents' religious private regard and centrality during random assessments six times per day across 14 days (Phase 2); and (2) to examine if Muslim American adolescents' momentary religious private regard and centrality at Phase 2 mediated the associations between their perceptions of maternal religious socialization at Phase 1 and their subsequent civic attitudes and behaviors at Phase 3.

Importance of Civic Engagement for "Hidden" Muslim American Adolescents

Civic engagement is a critical feature of positive youth development and indicator of civil societies due to its short- and long-term benefits for individuals (e.g., greater self-esteem, self-efficacy, psychological well-being, and academic achievement, less risky behaviors) and societies, including the promotion of justice through constructive citizenship and maintaining and perpetuating contexts that support positive human development (Balsano, 2005; Lerner et al., 2014). Civic engagement is particularly important during adolescence, a time when habits, attitudes, and values relevant to political participation are formed (Sears & Levy, 2003). However, the marginalization of minority groups can limit their participation and maintain

prevailing unjust power hierarchies (Hope & Spencer, 2017). In the face of oppression, civic

engagement is particularly significant because it provides youth with the opportunity to make

their voices heard. Such empowerment is crucial for Muslim American adolescents who are a

hidden population for several reasons. Very few studies have examined the development and

positive adjustment of Muslim American individuals, particularly adolescents, despite Muslims

being the fastest-growing religious population in the U.S. with the youngest average age of all

major religious groups (Pew Research Center, 2017a). Moreover, Muslim American adolescents

have been thrust into a negative public spotlight due to anti-Muslim rhetoric in various socio-

political settings (e.g., Islamophobia, "war on terror"; "Muslim travel ban"). Consequently,

Muslim American adolescents' civic engagement may be silenced due to fear for their physical

safety and concerns that their civic engagement (e.g., political participation, social activism)

could be misinterpreted as indicators of radicalization. Yet, Muslim American communities'

civic engagement is urgently needed to dismantle structural inequalities targeting Muslims in the

U.S. given that lower participation in civic life among minority groups can lead to a lack of

representation of their interests (Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, 2016). The few

existing studies on Muslim individuals' civic engagement are all conducted with adult or young

adult samples and have found that various aspects of religiosity (e.g., involvement in mosque and

religious community organizations) are related to increased political engagement and voting

(e.g., Jamal, 2005; Ocampo et al., 2018). The present study built and expanded on these studies

by examining Muslim American adolescents' civic attitudes and behaviors and their potential

contributors, specifically, maternal religious socialization and adolescents' religious identity.

The Role of Parental Religious Socialization

Lerner's theory on the development of civic engagement posits that youth who have mutually beneficial relationships with their ecological context will thrive and ultimately contribute to their communities and civil society (Lerner et al., 2014). Parents can serve as a developmental asset by providing a safe environment for youth to learn, internalize, and practice societal norms, such as compassion and social responsibility, which are critical for the development of their civic engagement (Flanagan, 2003). Although research on parents' role in adolescents' civic engagement is limited, studies have shown that parents' own civic engagement and warm, supportive, and authoritative parenting are related to youth's civic engagement (Bebiroglu et al., 2013; Flanagan 2003; Wray-Lake & Flanagan, 2012). However, findings on the links between specific parenting practices and youth civic engagement are inconclusive (Pavlova, Silbereisen, Ranta, & Salmela-Aro, 2016) and research on underlying mechanisms is needed.

Cultural socialization refers to the ways in which parents transmit their cultural history, values, practices of their cultural background, and a sense of connection to their cultural group to their children (Hughes et al., 2006). Evans and colleagues (2012) proposed that parents' cultural socialization may be critical for the development of minority youth's civic engagement because it can include lessons about cultural role models that embody positive characteristics linked to civic engagement. Moreover, cultural socialization can entail discussions about privilege and power imbalance, which can raise adolescents' awareness of structural inequities and provide an opportunity for parents to discuss engagement as a mean of redressing social injustice (Evans et al., 2012). Indeed, preliminary evidence indicates that dialog about race, privilege, and power is

linked to caring for others and standing up against discrimination (see Evans et al., 2012 for a review). Yet, the impact of cultural socialization on youth civic engagement remains unknown.

Although most studies on cultural socialization focus on ethnic/racial socialization, more recent work has expanded the cultural socialization framework to examine other culture-related socialization processes, including the socialization of religion (e.g., Bebiroglu et al., 2017). Similar to cultural socialization, parental religious socialization is conceptualized as the methods parents use to transmit religious values, practices, and a sense of belonging to their children (Bengston et al., 2008). Parents transmit religious socialization messages by engaging in discussions and answering questions about religion, encouraging their children to engage in religious practices, and reinforcing or punishing behaviors based on their religious beliefs (Boyatzis & Janicki, 2003; Özdikmenli-Demir & Şahin-Kütük, 2012). Although developmental research on religious socialization is relatively limited, previous studies have found that youth and adults with parents who were religious or transmitted religious socialization messages had more positive adjustment outcomes, including greater social connectedness, social competence, self-esteem, psychological well-being, and fewer depressive symptoms (Butler-Barnes, Martin, & Boyd, 2017; Krause, 2012; Krause & Ellison, 2007; Seol & Lee, 2012).

Parents' religious socialization could serve as an important mechanism to promote civic engagement given that the central tenants of religious teachings often encourage civic behaviors. Indeed, young people who are encouraged to participate in religious activities engage in more volunteering, community involvement, voting, and political participation (Vermeer & Scheepers, 2012; Wray-Lake, Tang, & Victorino, 2017). Similarly, both parents' and their children's religiosity are associated with children's greater future civic engagement, political participation, and party identification among Muslim and non-Muslim youth and adults living in Western

contexts (Ammann, 2014; Fleischmann, Martinovic, & Böhm, 2016; Jamal, 2005; Smetana & Metzger, 2005). However, these studies tend to use crude indicators, such as parental religiosity, instead of examining parents' specific practices that transmit religious values to their children. Religious majority parents' religious socialization was found to be related to greater volunteering behavior among their children during adulthood, above and beyond the effects of parents' religious participation (Vermeer & Scheepers, 2012). However, whether parental religious socialization is linked to civic engagement among religious minority youth, specifically, Muslim American adolescents, is unknown and the focus of the current study.

The Mediating Role of Adolescents' Religious Identity

Bivariate relations between cultural socialization, adolescents' social identity, and their civic engagement have been consistently documented among minority youth from various cultural backgrounds. Specifically, parents' cultural socialization promotes children's and adolescents' social private regard and centrality (Derlan, Umaña-Taylor, Updegraff, & Jahromi, 2017; Neblett et al., 2013; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009; Sellers et al., 1998; Wang et al., 2017). In turn, a strong sense of identification with one's social groups is associated with greater feelings of civic responsibility, as adolescents' affective ties may promote a sense of solidarity, thereby motivating civic engagement (Chan & Latzman, 2015; Fleischmann et al., 2011; Jensen, 2008). Social group identification may also instill a sense of group consciousness where the individual puts the group's interest over their own interest (Jamal, 2005), which is a key aspect of civic engagement. Thus, adolescents' identification with social groups may contribute to civic responsibility and promote civic behavior, such as volunteering, raising money for charitable causes, being involved in nonprofit organizations, and expressing their opinions on political issues. Although adolescents' identities have been found to mediate the links between cultural

socialization and adjustment, such as depressive symptoms (Neblett et al., 2013), little is known about its mediating role in predicting civic engagement. We propose that adolescents whose mothers engage in more discussions about their religious values and practices would feel more positively about belonging to their religious group and consider their group as a more important aspect of their self-image. In turn, positive regard and centrality can foster a sense of group consciousness and social responsibility for the group's common good, which can promote civic engagement.

Consistent with previous research (Davis & Kiang, 2016; Lopez, Huynh, & Fuligni, 2011; Seol & Lee, 2012), we conceptualized religious identity as a social identity and focused on adolescents' feelings about their religious group membership. Religious groups can offer a distinctive, sacred worldview and moral guidelines. Although Muslim minority youth's religious identity is a salient source of identity (Verkuyten, 2016), studies examining correlates of Muslim American adolescents' religious identity are limited. Given that the central tenets of Islam encourage social responsibility and civic behaviors to promote social justice (Sarkissian, 2012), Muslim American adolescents' religious identity may be an important mechanism that motivates their civic engagement because the group-oriented and interdependent nature of Islamic values socializes a strong sense of unity and responsibility about contributing to the common good.

Fluctuations in Adolescents' Daily Social Identities

Adolescents' identities vary substantially on a daily and momentary basis (Yip & Douglass, 2013). Notably, most previous experience sampling studies have only focused on predictors and outcomes of a single dimension of identity, such as adolescents' positive feelings about their ethnic/racial group (i.e., private regard). Given that centrality, the significance of a group for one's self-concept, is theorized to be relatively stable (Sellers et al., 1998), researchers

have often examined it as a moderator in the associations between contextual predictors and adolescents' private regard. However, different dimensions of adolescents' identities often work simultaneously (Sellers et al., 1998), and adolescents' private regard and centrality may dynamically influence one another on a daily basis. Specifically, it is unknown if the centrality of one's group membership predicts subsequent positive feelings about belonging to the group or if positive feelings reinforce greater centrality of one's group. Importantly, no prior study has examined daily fluctuations of adolescents' identification with their religious group. The momentary fluctuations and dynamic processes of adolescents' religious identities may be particularly important for Muslim American adolescents because of rising Islamophobia in youth's daily lives (e.g., in the news, on social media) in the current sociopolitical climate.

The Current Study

Given the aforementioned limitations and gaps in the literature, the aims of the current study were two-fold. First, we sought to examine fluctuations and temporality of Muslim American adolescents' religious private regard and centrality on a momentary basis at six random times per day over the course of 14 days. More specifically, we explored if Muslim American adolescents' prior assessments of their positive feelings about being Muslim predicted subsequent reports of the significance of their religious group membership, and vice versa. We expected adolescents' momentary assessments of private regard and centrality to be positively correlated, but the cross-lagged examination was exploratory due to a lack of prior research regarding the temporality of the dynamic effects. Our second aim was to examine if Muslim American adolescents' momentary religious private regard and centrality across 14 days (Phase 2) mediated the associations between their stable perceptions of maternal religious socialization at Phase 1 and their subsequent stable civic attitudes and behaviors at Phase 3, about two weeks

after the 14 days ended. Consistent with previous research, we expected maternal religious socialization to be positively associated with Muslim American adolescents' religious private regard and centrality, which in turn, were expected to predict more civic attitudes and behaviors.

Method

Participants

Participants included 95 Muslim American adolescents (51.6% male) between the ages of 13- to 18-years ($M = 16.5$ years, $SD = 1.6$ years). Most adolescents (90%) were second-generation, and adolescents who were born abroad (10%) moved to the U.S. between the ages of 1 month and 5 years and had lived in the U.S. for an average of 13.3 years ($SD = 2.6$ years; on average 81% of their lives). We focused on Muslim American adolescents of Asian and Arab/Middle Eastern backgrounds as their daily identity and religious socialization experiences could be significantly different from those of Black Muslim youth (Ahmed, Patel, & Hashem, 2015). Participants were from South-Asian (76%, e.g., Pakistan), Middle Eastern/Arab/North African (21%, e.g., Egypt, Turkey), and other Asian descent (3%, e.g., Indonesia). The majority of adolescents lived in two-parent households with their parents (94% married, 5% divorced, 1% widowed) and siblings ($M = 2.6$ siblings) and had parents with at least a college degree (50% and 72% college/professional degree, 17% and 9% partial college, 22% and 9% high school, and 9% and 11% less than 11th grade for mothers and fathers, respectively). Participants placed their families in the middle of a ladder representing the economic standing of families in the U.S. ($M = 6.2$, $SD = 1.7$ on a 10-point scale with higher scores indicating better economic standing).

Procedure

Ethical approval was obtained from the Institutional Review Board at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County (#Y16CC20240, The development and adjustment of Muslim

American adolescents). Participants were recruited from various religious- and non-religious community organizations across the Maryland-Washington D.C. metropolitan area in the U.S., such as mosques, community centers, schools, and grocery stores. Concerted efforts were made to gain the trust of adolescents and their parents and to increase rapport at a time of heightened fear of surveillance and distrust of researchers by Muslim communities (Pew Research Center, 2017b). First, we met with and obtained the endorsement and support of key leaders of Muslim communities in the region. To facilitate participant recruitment, letters of endorsement were obtained, and recruitment fliers were distributed at community centers, events tailored towards Muslim adolescents, and online via social media. The research team consisted only of Muslim research assistants, who were trained in culturally-sensitive data collection approaches. Interested youth were screened for eligibility, which was limited to self-identified Muslim adolescents between the ages of 13- to 18-years-old who were either born in the U.S. or migrated to the U.S. before the age of 6 years and owned a smartphone or other electronic device with access to the Internet. Prior to data collection, research assistants explained the data collection procedures and incentives to the participants and obtained assent and parental consent in person, over phone calls, or online.

Data collection was conducted in three phases. In Phase 1, adolescents reported on their stable perceptions of maternal religious socialization in the previous 12 months as well as demographic information and baseline civic engagement in an online survey. Approximately one week later, adolescents started Phase 2 of the study with the experience sampling surveys on their momentary religious identities using SurveySignal, a web-based experience sampling application that assists the data collection and management process (Hofmann & Patel, 2015). During this time, adolescents were randomly prompted to complete short surveys via text

messages sent to their cellphones 6 times per day beginning after school until 11pm over the

course of 14 days, for a total of 84 possible experience surveys per adolescent. The first five

daily surveys took approximately 2 minutes each to complete, while the last survey of the day

before bedtime took 5 minutes. To facilitate compliance, individualized reminders and

encouragements were sent at the end of each day. Comparable to other signal-contingent

experience sampling studies (Wang et al., 2017), Muslim American adolescents completed 66%

of the surveys on average (56 out of 84 possible surveys per person). In Phase 3, approximately

2 weeks after the experience surveys, adolescents completed a final online survey regarding their

civic engagement. After the completion of all phases, participants received $45 (participating in

the study), $55 (participating and answering at least 80% of daily surveys), or $65 (participating

and answering at least 95% of daily surveys).

Measures

       Maternal Religious Socialization. Adolescents reported on their perceptions of

maternal religious socialization during the past 12 months using an adapted version of the

cultural socialization subscale of the Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Johnson,

2001). Similar to previous studies which have validated this measure for the use of religious

socialization practices (Bebiroglu, Roskam, & van der Straten Waillet, 2015), the 4 items of the

subscale were reworded to reflect mothers' religious socialization practices (e.g., "*My mother

talked to me about important people or events in Islamic history*"; see Appendix) and were

answered on a 5-point scale ranging from "Never" to "Very often." A composite mean score was

created with higher scores indicating greater perceptions of maternal religious socialization (α

= .87). Confirmatory factor analyses on a larger sample of adolescents (272 additional

participants who only completed Phase 1 surveys) revealed a good model fit for a 3-factor model

(religious socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust), $\chi^2(38) = 76.04$, $p < .001$, CFI = .98, TLI = .97, RMSEA = .05, SRMR = .03), with 2 residuals of the promotion of mistrust and 2 items of the religious socialization scale allowed to be correlated.

Momentary Religious Identity. The adapted Multidimensional Model of Black Identity scale (MIBI-S; Martin, Wout, Sellers, & Gonzales, 2005), which has been extensively used in experience sampling studies and validated on diverse youth populations, was used to assess Muslim American adolescents' momentary religious identity. Items were reworded to reflect participants' feelings about their religious group (see Appendix) and assessed how much they agreed with the statements at the moment of their assessment (i.e., "right now"). Adolescents responded to 2 items regarding their feelings about being Muslim using the private regard subscale (e.g., "*I am happy that I am a member of the Muslim group*") and 4 items about the degree to which being Muslim is important to their self-concept using the centrality subscale (e.g., "*Being Muslim is an important reflection of who I am*") on a 7-point scale ranging from "Not at all true" to "Extremely true" with higher scores reflecting greater private regard and centrality. The reliability of momentary religious identity was estimated using a multilevel confirmatory factor analysis framework (Geldhof, Preacher, & Zyphur, 2014) and indicated acceptable within-person ($\alpha_{\text{private regard}} = .69$, $\alpha_{\text{centrality}} = .47$) and excellent between-person reliability ($\alpha_{\text{private regard}} = .96$, $\alpha_{\text{centrality}} = .91$), which were consistent with previous studies (Seaton & Iida, 2019).

Civic Engagement. Civic behaviors and attitudes were assessed at Phase 1 (i.e., control variable) and Phase 3 using the Civic Engagement Indicators Questionnaire (Andolina, Keeter, Zukin, & Jenkins, 2003) and Participatory Citizen and Political Efficacy Scale (Flanagan, Syvertsen, & Stout 2007), respectively. Adolescents responded to 19 items regarding their civic

behaviors and political engagement in their community in the past 12 months (e.g., volunteering, donating money) on a 3-point scale (e.g., "*Have you volunteered or done any voluntary community service for no pay?*") and 6 items regarding their civic attitudes on a 5-point scale (e.g., "*Being actively involved in community issues is my responsibility*"). Composite mean scores were created for each scale with higher scores reflecting greater civic behaviors and attitudes and both scales showed adequate reliability ($\alpha_{behavior}$ = .78; $\alpha_{attitudes}$ = .84).

Data Analytic Plan

Analyses were conducted using Dynamic Structural Equation Modeling (DSEM; Asparouhov, Hamaker, & Muthén, 2018) in M*plus* Version 8 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2017), which combines multilevel, time-series, and time-varying effect modeling with SEM approaches and accounts for the correlations between consecutive momentary assessments. In contrast to other multilevel models, DSEM can estimate unequally spaced outcomes simultaneously, even when data are missing, by using latent variables that consider measurement error (Hamaker, Asparouhov, Brose, Schmiedek, & Muthén, 2018). Little's MCAR test revealed that the data were missing completely at random (χ^2(2604) = 2371, p > .99), which were estimated using the MCMC algorithm via the Gibbs sampler (Asparouhov, Hamaker, & Muthén, 2017). Participants' age, sex, SES (i.e., parental education), and the number of assessments each participant answered were controlled in the analyses. In addition, we entered Phase 1 civic attitudes and behaviors as covariates to control for prior levels of civic engagement in the dynamic mediation model.

Two levels, the within-person and between-person level were estimated simultaneously. At the within-person level, we conducted a two-level time series analysis with a bivariate cross-lagged model with random intercepts and slopes for adolescents' momentary religious centrality and private regard. Autoregressive paths were estimated to test whether adolescents' religious

identities at a given point was influenced by a prior momentary identity. The autoregressive

paths are denoted as ϕ_{pp} (private regard) and ϕ_{CC} (centrality) and reflect temporal dynamic

effects or the stability of adolescents' feelings regarding their momentary identity across the 14

days. The cross-lagged momentary paths ϕ_{PC} (centrality $\rightarrow$ private regard) and ϕ_{CP} (private

regard $\rightarrow$ centrality) represent the time-lagged relations of the two dimensions of identity

between a given and a prior momentary assessment and provide information regarding their

temporal interplay. At the between-person level, we examined a 2–1–2 Dynamic Mediation

model by including a level-2 predictor (i.e., maternal religious socialization) and two level-2

outcomes (i.e., civic behaviors and civic attitudes) mediated by latent, level-1 means (denoted as

µ) and autocorrelations of adolescents' momentary religious centrality and private regard. The

significance of parameter estimates at both levels was evaluated using 95% credibility intervals.

Similar to previous studies (e.g., Seaton & Iida, 2019), the intraclass correlations of momentary

private regard (.78) and centrality (.80) were relatively high, suggesting substantial between-

person variation in adolescents' mean levels of religious identity.

Results

Dynamic Relations between Religious Private Regard and Centrality

Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations are summarized in Table 1 and indicate

that adolescents, on average, showed high levels of private regard and centrality in their lives,

which fluctuate throughout the day. In terms of our central aim to understand momentary

fluctuations and temporality of Muslim Americans' religious identity (Panel A, Figure 1), results

at the within-person level indicated that the autoregressive paths of private regard and centrality

were significant, suggesting that adolescents' prior assessments of their identity were positively

related with their subsequent reports regarding their feelings about and the centrality of their

group membership, respectively. Moreover, the cross-lagged paths between private regard and centrality were significant in both directions, indicating that adolescents' religious private regard predicted their subsequent reports of religious centrality, and vice versa.

Correlations between the standardized latent variables created at the within-person level (Panel B, Figure 1) are summarized in Table 2. The mean levels of momentary private regard and centrality were highly correlated, suggesting that adolescents who, on average, reported high levels of private regard were also likely to report high levels of centrality across their daily assessments over the course of 14 days. Significant correlations appeared between the autoregressive paths, indicating that adolescents who showed greater consistency in their reports of private regard were also more likely to report greater consistency in their momentary assessments of centrality. Moreover, the relations between the autoregressive paths of centrality as well as private regard and the cross-lagged paths between these constructs were significant, suggesting that adolescents who showed consistency in their momentary assessments of religious identity were more likely to report higher levels of private regard or centrality after a prior positive report of the other identity dimension. Relatedly, the cross-lagged paths were positively associated between adolescents, suggesting that adolescents whose private regard predicted greater centrality were also more likely to have greater private regard after indicating high centrality. Adolescents who showed greater consistency in their momentary assessments of private regard were also more likely to have a greater private regard for their religious group membership. Adolescents whose prior assessments of private regard predicted greater centrality of their group membership at subsequent momentary reports were more likely to display higher mean levels of private regard and centrality. Finally, adolescents' mean levels of momentary private regard were positively related to their mean levels of centrality.

Daily Mediation of Religious Identity in the Links between Religious Socialization and

Civic Engagement

To address our second aim, the 2–1–2 Dynamic Mediation model examined whether

mean levels and autocorrelations (i.e., consistency) of adolescents' momentary private regard and

centrality at Phase 2 mediated the associations between their stable perceptions of maternal

religious socialization at Phase 1 and their civic attitudes and behaviors at Phase 3. Due to the

high correlation between momentary private regard and centrality, we tested if the results would

differ when we ran the dynamic mediation model separately versus simultaneously for private

regard and centrality as mediators. Given that the findings were consistent across the models, we

retained the model that estimated the two momentary identity dimensions simultaneously.

Results revealed that adolescents' perceptions of maternal religious socialization were positively

associated with momentary mean levels of private regard, which in turn were related to more

civic attitudes, but not to civic behavior. Religious socialization predicted greater mean levels of

adolescents' momentary religious centrality, which in turn were linked to more civic behaviors,

but not to civic attitudes. Overall, the indirect effects indicated that mean levels of momentary

private regard mediated the associations between maternal religious socialization and civic

attitudes ($ab = .07$, $SE = .03$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.01; 0.19]), and mean levels of daily centrality

mediated the links between religious socialization and civic behaviors ($ab = .08$, $SE = .04$, p

$< .001$, 95% CI $= [.02; 0.21]$), but not vice versa ps $> .15$. In contrast to these significant

mediation findings of adolescents' mean levels of identity, the autocorrelations, which reflect the

degree of momentary variability of private regard and centrality, did not mediate the relations

between maternal religious socialization and civic attitudes and behaviors. Finally, the direct

effects between religious socialization and civic attitudes and behaviors were not significant.

Discussion

Despite the importance of civic engagement for positive youth development, unequal opportunities for the development of civic engagement among minority youth is a critical social issue that warrants research attention and policy changes (Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010). Given that the simultaneous targeting and silencing of Muslim adolescents in the U.S. may limit their civic participation, the current study examined dynamic factors and underlying processes that could promote this hidden population's civic engagement within this heated socio-political context.

Dynamic Relations between Private Regard and Centrality

Consistent with findings from previous experience sampling and longitudinal studies on ethnic/racial identity (Seaton & Iida, 2019; Stein, Rivas-Drake, Camacho, 2017), religious private regard and centrality appear highly interconnected. Adolescents who felt good about being Muslim in their daily lives were also likely to feel that being Muslim was an important aspect of their self-image across 14 days. Moreover, our cross-lagged within-person examinations of the momentary *within-person* relations revealed that Muslim American adolescents' religious private regard and centrality were positively related. Specifically, youth who felt positively about their religious group at a given moment, relative to their own average levels of private regard, were more likely to report their belonging to the Muslim group as being of critical importance to their self-concept at subsequent momentary assessments. Similarly, youth's prior assessments of religious centrality also predicted more positive subsequent feelings about their group membership within adolescents. These bidirectional findings suggest that the two religious identity dimensions are in a dynamic temporal interplay and reinforce each other over the course of adolescents' daily lives. Although centrality is often considered to be

situationally stable aspect of identity (Sellers et al., 1998), our findings reveal that Muslim American adolescents' religious centrality fluctuates over time, as well as influences and is influenced by changes in adolescents' feelings about their religious group.

Moreover, *between-person* examination of the dynamic relations between adolescents' mean levels of and autoregressive relations between private regard and centrality revealed that those who reported that being Muslim is a central aspect of their self-concept at greater mean levels and with more consistency in their daily reports were more likely to feel consistently and positively about being Muslim. These findings suggest that Muslim American adolescents' religious centrality and private regard fluctuated consistently and adolescents' average levels of these two identity dimensions were positively related contemporaneously and across time between adolescents. Additionally, adolescents who reported higher average levels of private regard and centrality over the course of 14 days compared to other participants were more likely to indicate that their religion is more central to them after reporting that they felt positively about being Muslim in a prior assessment. This finding suggests that compared to low-identified youth, highly-identified adolescents' positive affect about their religious group membership reinforced the significance of their religious group for their self-image in a subsequent assessment. In turn, youth whose prior reports of private regard reinforced their religious centrality at the next random assessment were more likely to report greater private regard after a prior momentary assessment of centrality.

Moreover, adolescents who had more positive feelings about being Muslim showed greater consistency in their feelings about their group membership, but the same relations were not found for centrality. Hence, adolescents who, on average, felt positively about being Muslim were less reactive to contextual effects and reported high private regard more consistently

throughout their daily lives. In contrast, adolescents who felt that being Muslim was a core

aspect to their self-image, did not report more consistency in their religious centrality compared

to youth who reported lower religious centrality in their daily lives, likely because centrality may

fluctuate over the course of the day but is theorized to be more stable over time than private

regard (Sellers et al., 1998). These results point to the importance of evaluating the daily lability

(or stability) of different identity dimensions. Given that our work suggests that there could be

variation in terms of the momentary coherency and the cyclical reinforcing nature of social

identity dimensions, more work is needed to replicate these results and better understand the

predictors of such fluctuations and their implications for adolescent outcomes. For example,

future research could examine whether fluctuations in private regard and centrality reinforce one

another more when adolescents are in certain contexts (e.g., home versus mall), surrounded by

certain people (e.g., parents, peers, intra-religious group members), and/or engaging in certain

activities (e.g., studying or family dinner). It would also be interesting to examine what

implications these dynamic fluctuations of identity dimensions have on adolescents' civic

engagement and development more broadly.

Daily Mediating Role of Religious Identity

The results of our dynamic mediation analyses revealed differential daily mediating

mechanisms underlying the relations between adolescents' perceptions of maternal religious

socialization and their civic attitudes and behaviors through specific aspects of their religious

identity. Muslim American adolescents who perceived their mothers to convey more religious

socialization messages at Phase 1 had more favorable attitudes about their religious group and

beliefs that belonging to the Muslim group was an important reflection of their self-image in

their daily lives over the course of 14 days. Similarly, Wang and colleagues (2017) found that

stable parental cultural socialization increased ethnic/racial minority adolescents' daily ethnic/racial private regard. Ethnic minority youth who received greater cultural socialization messages from their parents also had stronger ethnic centrality beliefs over time (e.g., Rivas-Drake, 2011). However, our study is the first to demonstrate the relations between parents' religious socialization practices and their adolescents' daily identity centrality. These findings contribute to the limited literature on religious socialization and provide greater understanding of specificity in socialization processes (e.g., Bornstein, 2015). Maternal religious socialization practices are critical in shaping Muslim American adolescents' daily feelings about their religious group.

In turn, the two dimensions of Muslim American adolescents' religious identities were differentially related to their civic attitudes and behaviors. Specifically, Muslim American adolescents who felt more positively about their belonging to the Muslim group in their daily lives had higher stable civic attitudes at Phase 3; that is, they believe that it was their personal responsibility to be actively involved in and contribute to their community. On the other hand, Muslim American adolescents who reported that their belonging to the Muslim group was an important aspect of their self-image were more likely to engage in stable civic behaviors, such as volunteering for and donating money to charitable causes at Phase 3, but not attitudes. Our findings support those from prior quantitative and qualitative studies, which indicate that youth who identified strongly with their ethnic/racial minority group were more likely to hold greater civic attitudes (e.g., concerns for social justice) and engage in more civic and political behaviors (Anglin, Johnson-Pynn, & Johnson, 2012; Chan & Latzman, 2015; Jensen, 2008; Wray-Lake, Tang, & Victorino, 2017). Our findings provided greater clarity and a more nuanced

understanding regarding which specific aspects of adolescents' social identity lead to their

subsequent civic attitudes versus behaviors.

Youth who have a stronger social identity may consider their personal success to be

connected with the well-being of their larger collective minority group, and thus perceive more

civic responsibility and engage in altruistic and civic behaviors to benefit their minority group

and the larger society (Jamal, 2005; Vermeer & Scheepers, 2012). However, although minority

individuals often cite their religion as an inspiration for their civic engagement (e.g., Levitt,

2008), no study had examined whether religious identity promotes civic engagement. Our

examination of the influence of Muslim American adolescents' religious identities on their civic

engagement is particularly important because Islam is often portrayed in public discourses as

antithetical to democratic values and American citizenship (Fleischmann et al., 2016). Hence,

Muslim American adolescents' greater identification with their religious group has been

considered by some as an impediment to their participation in the mainstream American culture

and ultimately their civic contributions. Our findings dispute these public narratives and indicate

that Muslim American adolescents who identify strongly with their religion in their daily lives

are more likely to be civic-minded and engage in civic behaviors, such as volunteering,

belonging or donating money to nonprofit organizations, and expressing their opinions on

political issues.

Although researchers have previously posited that parents' cultural and religious

socialization may promote youth civic engagement by strengthening adolescents' identities (e.g.,

Vermeer & Scheepers, 2012), our study was the first to examine these mediating relations

empirically. Our examination of two dimensions of religious identity and civic outcomes

allowed us to reveal additional specificity in the developmental processes underlying the

relations between adolescents' perceptions of religious socialization and their civic engagement through their daily religious identities. Importantly, adolescents' religious private regard and centrality showed differential mediating effects on civic attitudes and behaviors. Muslim American adolescents' positive feelings about their group belonging in their daily lives, an affective dimension of their religious identity, was linked to greater civic attitudes but not to civic behaviors. In contrast, the significance of adolescents' religious identity to their self-concept, which represents the relative importance they ascribe to their religious group belonging, was linked to more civic behaviors, but not their civic attitudes. Hence, although Muslim American adolescents' daily religious private regard and centrality were closely related and influenced one another over the course of their daily lives, specificity was revealed in the developmental mechanisms through which these identity dimensions mediated the relations between the religious socialization they received from their mothers and their civic attitudes and behaviors.

However, our results also suggest nuances in how different aspects of social identity could have different implications for the way in which civic engagement is embodied. The link between positive regard and attitudes (rather than behavior) could be due to the idea that private regard is affect-laden and largely assesses beliefs and feelings. In contrast, centrality may reflect a commitment to one's social group and could promote actions, behaviors, and purpose in support of one's group, consistent with Eriksonian and social identity theories. Religious centrality may also promote civic behaviors because the central tenets of Islam encourage altruistic behaviors and preaches patience, tolerance, and peaceful contributions to the "common good" as exemplary behavior in the face of perceived injustice and systematic oppression. Hence, youth who feel that Islam is a central aspect of their self-image in their daily lives may be

more likely to engage in civic behaviors because such behaviors embody Islamic ethics of social justice and uphold values that are critical to redress inequities. Further research that attempts to tease apart these differential effects could be worthwhile.

The finding that maternal religious socialization did not directly promote civic attitudes nor civic behaviors among Muslim American adolescents was also noteworthy. Maternal religious socialization practices may only promote adolescents' civic engagement when youth internalize these messages in terms of adopting a positive sense of their religious identity in their daily lives. Research on parental socialization guided by Self-Determination Theory consistently show that children and adolescents are more likely to adopt parental values and behaviors if they internalize these values and have autonomy and agency (e.g., Rudy & Grusec, 2001; Ryan & Deci, 2000). Indeed, recent work from daily diary studies highlight the importance of college students' self-determined motivation in promoting daily civic behaviors, including volunteering, helping, pro-environmental behavior, and charitable giving (e.g., Wray-Lake, DeHaan, Shubert, & Ryan, 2017). Moreover, mothers' discussion of the history and core values of Islam with their adolescent children in addition to *how* they deliver these messages may also be important for youth's adjustment and behavioral outcomes. Consistent with a process-oriented approach to racial socialization (e.g., Smith-Bynum, Anderson, Davis, Franco, & English, 2016), the transmission of religious values to children happens within the parent-child relationship context. The nature of the relationship and nonverbal behaviors that accompany parents' socialization messages can set the emotional tone of the parent-child discussions (e.g., warm, conflictual) and ultimately affect whether and how adolescents internalize and adopt parental socialization messages and are engaged civically.

Limitations and Future Directions

Several limitations of the current study should be noted. First, our sample comprised middle-class and primarily second-generation Muslim American adolescents living in the Maryland/Washington metropolitan area in the U.S., which limits the generalizability of our findings. For example, our participants reside in a region with a higher Muslim population nationally and is closer to the federal political center of the U.S. (Association of Religion Data Archives, 2010). Future studies should examine whether similar associations are found for Muslim adolescents from different socioeconomic status, generational status, and across different regional and cultural contexts. Moreover, although Muslim American adolescents' simultaneous identification to other groups, such as their American and/or ethnic identity could contribute to or undermine their civic engagement, we only examined the role of religious identity. Future work should examine the interconnectedness of multiple daily identities.

Another limitation concerns the reliance on self-reported data for all variables, which may introduce shared method variance. Future studies should use multiple informants, such as parents' reports of their own religious socialization practices and more objective records of adolescents' civic behaviors. Relatedly, the sample size of the current study and the total number of observations may be underpowered, particularly for detecting indirect effects for the autocorrelations of religious private regard and centrality (Schultzberg & Muthén, 2018). Similar to other experience sampling studies, the burden on participants to respond to multiple short surveys throughout the day, which might lead to poorer rates and quality of responses, is also a limitation of the current study.

Moreover, our assessment of maternal religious socialization and civic engagement as stable variables neglects important variations and dynamics in these two constructs, as indicated

in observational, longitudinal, daily diary, and experience sampling studies (Boyatzis & Janicki, 2003; Douglass & Umaña-Taylor, 2016; Smith-Bynum, Anderson, Davis, Franco, & English, 2016; Tsai, Telzer, Gonzales, Fuligni, 2015; Wray-Lake et al., 2017). Similarly, consistent with most research on religious socialization, we measured religious socialization as a unidirectional process, whereby parents transmit religious values, practices, and sense of belonging to their children. However, the religious socialization process is likely transactional, and youth may actively elicit or avoid engaging with their parents around religion (e.g., Bebiroglu, van der Noll, & Roskam, 2017; Boyatzis & Janicki, 2003). Hence, examinations of the bidirectional associations between daily or momentary variations in parents' socialization, adolescents' identity, and their civic engagement, would be important, particularly in light of the limitation resulting from the close proximity of the three Phases of data. The combination of various forms of civic behaviors into one scale is another limitation because adolescents' momentary religious identities could be related to certain civic behaviors but not others. Finally, although previous studies have validated the use of the cultural socialization scale for the use of parents' religious socialization practices (Bebiroglu et al., 2015), the scale may not assess unique nuances of parents' religious socialization, particularly among religious minorities. Therefore, a more focused examination of how religious minority parents transmit their religious history, values, and practices to their children is needed.

Conclusions and Implications

Despite these limitations, our study makes unique and significant contributions to the limited literature regarding the implications of religious socialization for minority adolescents' civic engagement. Identity theory and research have largely overlooked the role of religion in forging social identities despite growing evidence on its salience and significance particularly

among religious minority youths (King & Furrow, 2004; Verkuyten, 2016). Among religious minorities, religion offers psychological and social benefits, and social distinctiveness in the multicultural American context beyond meeting spiritual needs (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). Religion is the most salient source of social identity for Muslim adolescents living in Western contexts, particularly those of second-generation (Tahseen, & Cheah, 2018; Verkuyten, 2016). The current anti-Muslim sociopolitical context further increases the salience of religious identity, similar to studies indicating strong ethnic identification in response to ethnic discrimination (Tabbah, Chung, & Miranda, 2016). However, Muslim American adolescents and families remain a hidden population in developmental science and in political representation (Ocampo et al., 2018). Our study filled important theoretical gaps and revealed the nuanced ways that maternal religious socialization can impact Muslim American adolescents' daily religious identity, and consequently promote their civic attitudes and behaviors. Specifically, our data-analytic approach of combining cross-lagged within-person analyses with between-person analyses using both experience sampling and survey data revealed the dynamic relations between the two dimensions of adolescents' daily religious identities as well as its mediating roles in the links between maternal religious socialization and youth's civic attitudes and behaviors.

In addition to filling important theoretical gaps, our findings can also inform applied settings. Although public discourses often portray Islam and Muslim youth's religious identity as undermining their participation in the mainstream Western democratic system (Fleischmann et al., 2016; Ocampo et al., 2018), our study provides empirical evidence to refute these negative portrayals. In fact, we found that adolescents who internalized their mothers' religious socialization messages and enacted them in their daily lives by identifying more strongly with their religious group felt greater civic responsibility and engaged in more civic behaviors, such

as volunteering, engaging in leadership activities in their communities, and raising or donating money to nonprofit organizations. Hence, our findings emphasize the critical role of parents' religious socialization and youth's daily religious identity for Muslim American adolescents' positive development. Specifically, programs interested in promoting Muslim American adolescents' civic engagement should focus on fostering inclusivity and instilling values that promote civic engagement through adolescents' internalization of the importance of having their hidden voices heard. That is, families and religious communities can foster Muslim American adolescents' group consciousness and thereby serve as a mobilizing force to connect youth's personal interests to the public interests of their minority group. Moreover, mothers' discussions about the history and core values of Islam play a central role in influencing adolescents' civic engagement. Such discussions may raise adolescents' awareness about how exercising their rights and activism are important mechanisms for fighting social inequities targeted towards their religious group, and redressing power imbalances and increasing representation of Muslims in political discourses. In line with the principles of a democratic society, religious socialization and the tenets of Islam can be means of self-empowerment for Muslim American youth and thus contribute to the greater good.

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Tables

Table 1.

Descriptive Statistics and Bivariate Correlations of Variables

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Maternal Religious Socialization (P1)	–						
2. Momentary Private Regard (P2)	.07***	–					
3. Momentary Centrality (P2)	.15***	.89***	–				
4. Civic Attitudes (P3)	.08***	.17***	-.02	–			
5. Civic Behavior (P3)	-.14***	.05**	.15***	.80***	–		
6. Civic Attitudes (P1)	.18***	.04**	.02	.37**	.51**	–	
7. Civic Behavior (P1)	.20***	.23***	.25**	.41**	.53***	.46**	–
M	3.36	5.70	5.78	3.68	1.15	3.81	0.98
SD	1.16	1.26	1.27	0.72	0.48	0.68	0.42
Range of scores	1-5	1-7	1-7	1-5	0-3	1-5	0-3

Note. Civic attitudes and behaviors at Phase 1 are covariates to control for prior levels of civic engagement at the between-person level. **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.

Table 2.

Between-Level Correlations between Standardized Latent Within-Person Mean and Correlation

Estimates

Latent Estimate	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Φ_{PP}	–					
2. Φ_{CC}	$.42^{**}$	–				
3. Φ_{PC}	$.23^{*}$	$.49^{**}$	–			
4. Φ_{CP}	$.56^{***}$	$.42^{**}$	$.47^{**}$	–		
5. $\mu_{Private\ Regard}$	$.29^{**}$	$.01$	$.02$	$.47^{***}$	–	
6. $\mu_{Centrality}$	$.22$	$.00$	$.07$	$.35^{***}$	$.94^{***}$	–

Note. ϕ_{PP} and ϕ_{CC} refer to the autoregressive paths of private regard and centrality, ϕ_{PC} and ϕ_{CP}

reflect the time-lagged paths between centrality and private regard and vice versa, respectively,

and μ's reflect the latent mean levels of the momentary religious identities.

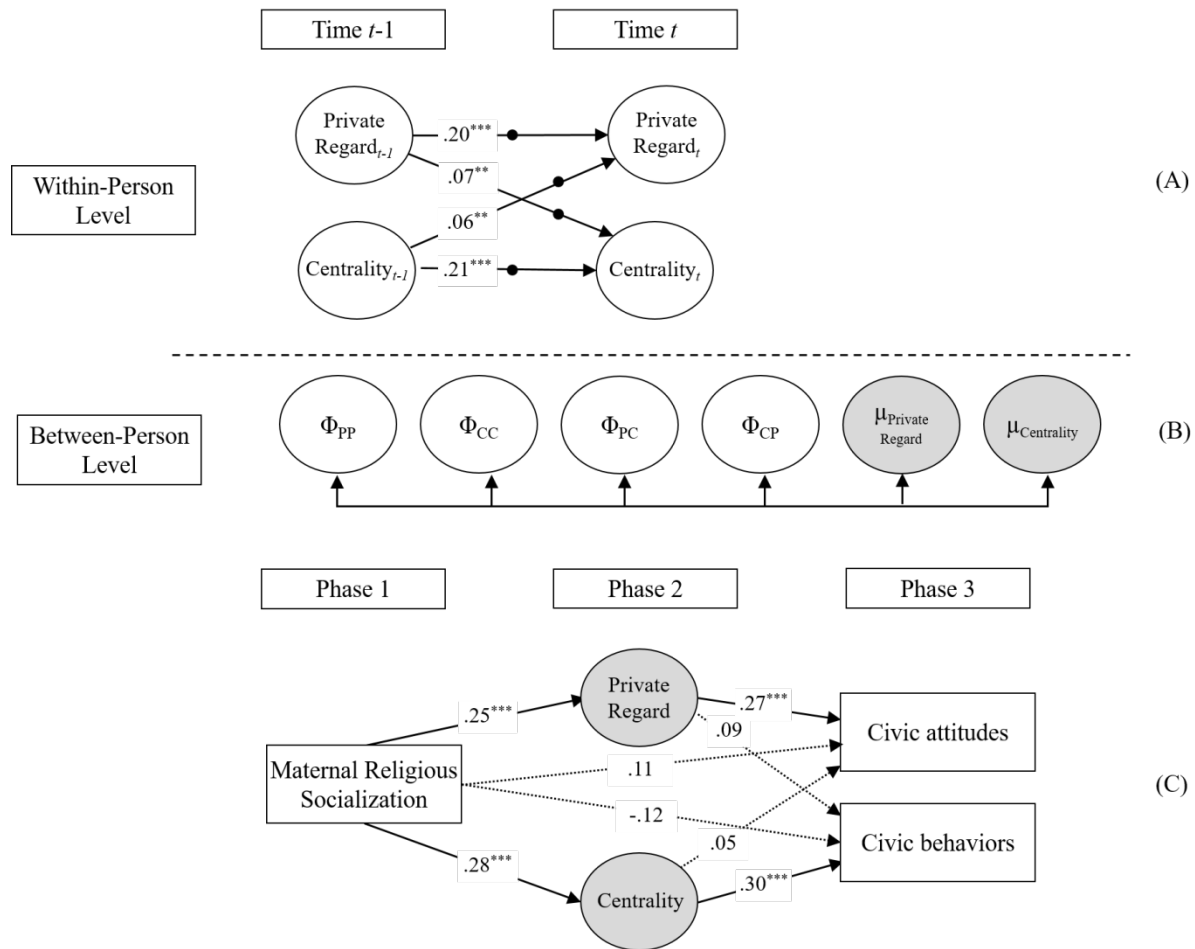$^{*}p < .05,\ ^{**}p < .01,\ ^{***}p < .001.$

Figures

Figure 1. Summary of Statistical Model Diagram with Standardized Estimates

Note. ϕ_pp and ϕ_CC refer to the autoregressive paths of private regard and centrality, ϕ_PC and ϕ_CP reflect the time-lagged paths between centrality and private regard and vice versa, respectively, and µ's reflect the latent mean levels of the momentary religious identities.

$^*p < .05, ^{**}p < .01, ^{***}p < .001.$

Appendix

Adapted Religious Socialization Subscale of the Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale

1. My mother talked to me about important people or events in Islamic history.
2. My mother encouraged me to read books about Muslims.
3. My mother talked to me about important people or events in the history of different cultural or religious groups, other than my own.
4. My mother encouraged me to read books about other cultural or religious groups.

Adapted Religious Identity of the Multidimensional Model of Black Identity Scale-Short

The following items assessed how much adolescents agreed with these statements at the moment of the assessment (i.e., "right now").

Momentary Religious Private Regard
1. I am happy that I am a member of the Muslim group.
2. I feel good about other Muslims.

Momentary Religious Centrality
1. Islam (or being Muslim) has very little to do with how I feel about myself. **(Reverse-coded)**
2. Islam is an important part of my self-image.
3. I have a strong sense of belonging to Muslims.
4. I have a strong attachment to other Muslims.
5. Being Muslim is an important reflection of who I am.